

The World Tomorrow

Twenty-five Cents a Copy

Two Dollars a Year

Vol. X.

AUGUST, 1927

No. 8



THE FARM REBELLION

The World Tomorrow, Inc.

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Jones and Miss Ellis were tipped off that they had better resign. They did so, preferring not to embarrass the institution they had so faithfully served. Then a majority vote of Trustees and Directors accepted their resignations.

Why? Because of the fear of losing support, financial and otherwise, from local sources if these secretaries were retained. The Directors yielded to pressure and intimidation. Even the officials of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A., who went to Fort Wayne after the resignations to investigate affairs, did not come out publicly in support of Miss Jones and Miss Ellis. This silence is all the more regrettable because it is unexpected. In the past the National Board has repeatedly exhibited great courage in meeting similar issues.

The ministers of Fort Wayne played a very sorry part in the whole affair. So far as we can learn not a single minister in the city came to the public defense of these women who refused to abandon their Christian convictions even in the face of bitter persecution. The local Ministerial Association adopted a report in which they condemned pacifism, on the one hand, and the attacks of the *News-Sentinel*, on the other, but they voted not to make public their statement and it is doubtful if even the newspaper has been notified of their condemnation of its methods. It seems incredible that ministers should be so lacking in understanding or courage as to fail so dismally in such a crisis.

Twenty-five Fort Wayne women, including the First Vice-President of the Y. W. C. A., wrote a letter to Miss Jones, published in one of the local newspapers, in which they said, "We want to tell you how fully we realize that for the last few years the results of your leadership have been the best single influence in the spiritual life of Fort Wayne's women . . . we regret the loss of you and your associates. . . ." Aside from this letter there was no defense of the Y. W. secretaries made public in Fort Wayne and no reply made to the charges against the Fellowship of Reconciliation until John Neyin Sayre went to Fort Wayne from New York and persuaded both newspapers in the town to publish two articles which he wrote on the situation.

This Fort Wayne case is only one out of many recent illustrations of the wave of hysteria against unpopular ideas which is sweeping over the country. Educators, social workers and religious leaders who advocate serious changes in the present social order run the grave risk of losing their positions or at least being vigorously persecuted by upholders of the status quo. Very many Americans do not believe in freedom of speech, and are not willing to give a pacifist or a socialist a sympathetic hearing. A common practice everywhere is to meet ideas with abuse; to answer arguments with epithets.

The progress of organized religion and of society

itself depends upon the willingness of individuals and institutions to take the consequences of preaching and practising the great principles of their faith. In all ages those who have sought to make fundamental changes in the status quo have been the victims of blindness, bigotry and selfishness. The same fate awaits such persons today.

We are convinced that, as a general rule, it is a great mistake for those who are thus attacked to resign, out of loyalty to the institution and the desire to safeguard its influence. This is exactly what the opposition most desires. The refusal to resign and the consequent possibility of being discharged may result in personal loss, but such a course will in the long run greatly aid the cause of vital religion. Loyalty to the institution itself demands that we refuse to be a party to its intimidation. It is far better for an institution to lose half its budget and greatly reduce the quantity of its activities than to surrender its freedom.

Fort Wayne will not be the last case of this kind. The all-important question is this: What are individuals and institutions who are making a serious effort to follow Jesus' way of life going to do about these attempts at intimidation and coercion?

Another Vote for Peace

Alanson B. Houghton, American ambassador at the court of St. James, has a way of making significant speeches. He was invited to speak at the Commencement exercises at Harvard University and he improved the occasion by expounding his thoughts on "War and Democracy." Here we would like to pick out three of his ideas for special emphasis.

Wars are not inevitable, said the ambassador. That deadly and hoary myth has been preached to the world so long that it has seemingly become the 42 articles of faith of every government. Thus disarmament and all methods of peaceful arbitration are denounced as utopian and dangerous. But Houghton cut straight through the old cobwebs to show that wars are not inevitable.

He also demanded the democratization of the war-making power. Wars, as nothing else, affect all the people, demand of them their lives, their money, their devotion, their sacrifices. Why, then, should not this most important matter lie within the direct responsibility of all the people?

A highly significant suggestion is the one that the various nations shall simultaneously vote on the outlawing of war. This would bring home to the people as nothing else that "the issue of peace and war will be thereafter in their own hands and control."

As yet, Ambassador Houghton is a voice in the wilderness. Because of his position his voice is significant. He is one of those who are preparing the way.

The Private Life of Mary Haugen

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

A PARADOXICALLY liberal United States Senator is seated at the center of a select circle of New York's intelligentsia. He has just finished saying that the coming Presidential campaign is destined to be the most virile and exciting since the days of Andrew Jackson. He is reluctant to commit himself clearly with respect to the precise issues which are to contribute to this excitement and virility: religion may, of course, become an important item of contention; the prohibition question will be evaded by both parties, but international problems may quicken into heated issues. Thereupon some one meekly inquires "But surely, Senator, the agricultural question is to become one of the most important issues, is it not?" The Senator has consented to speak frankly because he has the promise of the correspondents and publicists present that he will not be quoted directly. His reply to the above query constitutes, according to the viewpoint of the present writer, one of the most significant public (although it must be remembered that it was not publicly made) utterances of our time. The Senator said: "No, agriculture cannot become a real issue; the American rural population no longer possesses spiritual resources adequate for the precipitation of a national issue."

The Senator's sociological diagnosis deserves analysis. May we for this purpose visualize our national family in terms of the normal number of four. They are sisters all: Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, and Labor. Now, by "spiritual resources" we may presume that the Senator implied such capacity to present and contend for one's interest as to maintain the family balance. Agriculture is, of course, the eldest and by all rights should have been entitled to at least an equal share in the family's inheritance. But, for some peculiar and mysterious reason there she stands, deserted and alone. The remaining three sisters have done well, indeed. They started with a handicap but by sheer force of character and "spiritual resource" (sic!) they have climbed to a position of family honor. What, then, is the cause of Agriculture's disgraceful position? There must be something in her private life, some moral fissure somewhere, which has all along been contributory to her delinquency. And perhaps, in the interest of family decency and respectability, we ought to carry our inquiry still further: How can this black sheep be made white once more so that the family may be purified and restored to unity?

OUR excursion into the family's biography may very well begin by considering the open charges which have been made against Agriculture. In the tradition these stand out in prominence: (a) she has not been progressive and alert and consequently has never achieved efficiency; (b) as she has never developed a real sense of pride, and she relies in difficulties upon charity, known in political circles as class-legislation; (c) in times of prosperity she wastes her income and fails to make adequate provision for the rainy days. These are serious charges: inefficiency, indigence, and wastefulness. Are they true?

If Agriculture is an inefficient business, something should be done about it at once, because efficiency is one of the altars at which this family has learned to worship. Certainly, farmers plod along in old-fashioned paths; do things by hand which ought to be done by machines; rob the soil of its fertility; keep cows which do not pay for their feed. These are the familiar complaints. And yet, the American farmer produces more food per man than any other farmer in the world. He can expand his productive capacity with amazing results. When the country enters upon a world-wide war Agriculture is called upon to produce, not merely for our citizens but for all our Allies. And the supply meets the demand. Indeed, the present problem which confronts Agriculture is over-production, consequently we cannot take seriously this charge of inefficiency.

After the War, when patriotism lost its single-colored complexion, farmers began to realize that they were being made the victims of that virtuous sounding policy called "deflation." Prices were too high and the politicians listening to the industrial and commercial interests decreed that they must come down. They did come down, that is, agricultural prices. Prosperity has remained for all other groups but the farmer has been obliged to face a real emergency. He increased his acreage and his capitalization under war-time pressure, and when his income began to shrink he found himself heading toward bankruptcy. He asked for help. Becoming frantic he even threatened political heterodoxy. His representatives organized what has been known as a "Farm Bloc" designed to further his interests in Congress. And for all his pains and excitement he was charged with promoting an un-American political measure, and worst of all, of being that despicable character known as the suppliant for special privileges, the supporter of class-legislation.

The McNary-Haugen bill (originally introduced in January, 1924, as H. R. 5563 and often jokingly referred to as "Mary Haugen") may now be regarded as the symbol for Agriculture's claims. The bill was defeated then and again during the last session of Congress and there is no present likelihood of its revival. The bill provided for federal funds for the purposes of relieving the domestic market of its exportable surplus. Originally it applied to only a few so-called basic products but it was later amended to include a wider range of commodities. Academic economists argued against the measure because they insisted it would not work. Bankers, industrialists and politicians were against it because to them it represented a special class privilege which was non-economic and contrary to American traditions. And finally President Coolidge in his most pious manner and with the assistance of all the above groups added that it was not merely un-economic and un-American, but that it was unnecessary. And there the matter rests.

American Agriculture came forth with a definite program and fought a good fight. (Over two hundred farm organizations favored the McNary-Haugen bill.) The battle was lost, farm prices have improved slightly, and the politicians rest easy. The Senator indirectly quoted at the beginning, now feels that the spirit has gone from our agricultural people and that they are henceforth destined to play a role of diminishing importance in our national life. In the meantime Henry Ford will continue to criticize farmers for not inventing mechanical cows and operating their farms according to the principles of mass-production; sentimentalists will promote back-to-the-farm movements; the banks will gradually become the real owners of agricultural land, and we shall come to see a rural population debased to the level of feudal peasantry. In the usual cycle of speculative procedure farm prices will probably reach a new high level within a few years, farmers will be encouraged once more and in the flush of their fortune will buy those items of the standard of living for which they have longed. When the prices come down city dwellers will once again condemn them for their profligacy. And thus the weary round of events, in which agriculture drops successively to lower levels of self-respect, will go on.

IF THE above cycle of events does not follow, it will be because something bordering upon a revolution will have happened to the American mind in the meantime. Somewhere at the point where politics and economics become indistinguishable a little candor and honesty will have been applied. Our politicians, editorial writers, and sundry controllers of public opinion will have admitted that a tariff which makes millions for Mellons is just as much class legislation as a McNary-Haugen bill which aims to equalize domes-

tic and world markets for farmers. The righteous squeal which the Mellons and their kin let loose when Congress seemed to be on the verge of taking the farmers seriously will have been recognized for what it is, namely a determination to keep the trough for themselves. In short, honest statesmanship will have been directed toward our national problem of maintaining a balance between agriculture and industry, between the country and the city. It is far too much to hope for, but in the meantime it will be something more than idle pastime if we can in some manner envisage the procedure.

We shall need to begin with a clear interpretation of our family history, particularly in its politico-economic aspects. Alexander Hamilton first pushed Agriculture into second place. In his prophetic manner he foresaw something of the probable development of this nation. According to his pronouncement, the manufacturers who should be entitled to "pre-eminent rank" were those of bar and sheet-iron, steel, nail rods, nails, agricultural implements, stoves, pots, et cetera, et cetera. The opportunity for perfecting the plot did not, however, arrive until the close of the second war with England. (We have a habit of initiating non-rational legislation during or immediately after each of our wars!) Resentment against England and "dumped" English goods resulted in the Tariff of 1816, the tariff which was at that time condemned by the representatives of Southern Agriculture as "a combination of the few against the many, the wealthy against the poor." And so it proved to be until the end of the 19th century. At that time organized labor had so far established itself in certain trades that its members and that vast army of workers who were not members but who were willing to reap the benefits of workers' organization were receiving a sufficient amount of the profits of industry and commerce to allow for the highest general standard of living in the modern world. Only two groups now remained outside the area of benefits resulting from industrial favoritism, namely farmers and workers in unorganized industries, or in unskilled trades.

NOW the peculiar aspect of the tariff (as well as other forms of special privilege) is that it creates blind spots in its beneficiaries. Industrialists are perfectly willing to accept the unearned profits which result from the exclusion of foreign goods because the process is one of indirection: the left hand prevents the right hand from knowing what is going on. Indeed, the whole process seems so rational and splendid that the right hand can now insist that nothing whatever is happening. It thus comes about that a principle is erected in economics which arises out of selfish interests, is sanctified by politics, and becomes a part of a moral creed. Farmers, realizing that the

principle works for those who sanction it, now come forth and demand a share in its benefits. Statesmanship of two types is needed to clarify this atmosphere: either farmers should insist upon the validity and the morality of the tariff and henceforth demand an equal share in its ministrations, or they should take a determined stand against tariffs of all kinds. This latter standpoint would give them a moral base and if they stood on such a platform and continued their demands long enough, they might in the end give new direction to the economic life of the United States.

But they cannot stand alone. Nor can they recover their position in our national life if they remain true to sectional rather than vocational interests. The Southern farmers were opposed or lukewarm to the McNary-Haugen bill until some of their products were brought within its provisions. Lowden, the spokesman and political spearhead for the middle-western farmers who demanded succor traveled through the Southern states and gained support for the measure. But here again the farmers were merely imitating the industrialists: they were looking upon the McNary-Haugen bill exactly as sectional industrial interests look upon the tariff, namely, each for himself and the devil take those who are too timid to ask. In short, the farmers of America still vote as if the issue were the Civil War and not a grim economic emergency, and so long as they can be misled by their political well-wethers in this fashion they will be obliged to take the crumbs which drop from the urban tables.

WILL workers stand with farmers in a national program of political and economic reform? Again we are confronted with the irrationalism and sentimentalism which shroud politics. Farmers' organizations maintain no continued working relationships with labor organizations. In some curious and anachronistic manner farmers go on thinking of themselves as capitalists who must cast their lot with the owning, lending, speculating interests. As a matter of plain fact their status is more nearly that of the unskilled and landless laborer than that of any other group. If the present trend continues, the time will soon arrive when less than half of American farms will be occupied by those who own them. (At the present writing a group of bankers, mortgagers, trust company representatives, etc. is meeting in the Northwest to arrive at a concerted plan for carrying forward their ownership of agricultural land, land which has come into their possession largely since the War.) On the other hand, trade unionists seem totally unable to grasp the significance of our agricultural problem. As long as they can get what they want or approximately what they want through strikes, limitation of membership, coercion, etc., they are perfectly content to allow the farmer to shift for himself. But

they too have a shock coming in the near future. By refraining from political action they have created a separation of function which renders them even now politically impotent. Company-unions are increasing rapidly in all sections of the country, and the time may soon arrive when American labor will find that its time-worn tactics will fail to bring results. At the moment labor is a respectable member of the family but that has come about through no fault of its own. The organized worker who now enjoys a high standard of living will some day be rudely awakened to the realization that a fundamental portion of that living is produced by his fellow-worker, the farmer. He will then find it to his advantage to stand with the farmer but until this crisis arrives he will in all likelihood go on solving the farm problem by calling the farmer a "hick" and a "rube."

CAN the farmers solve their economic problem through non-political action, through the organization of co-operative marketing associations? This is the claim so frequently set forth by President Coolidge and numerous economists. They point with pride to the little country of Denmark where the farmers have so obviously solved their economic problem through cooperation and thereupon say to the American farmer in sanctimonious tones: "Go thou and do likewise."

Well, there is quantitatively speaking more co-operative marketing now in the United States than in any other country. The type of co-operative marketing which can succeed at present in the United States is precisely the kind which bankers and industrialists will allow. If cooperation as a principle actually took hold in this country as it has in Denmark, it would be combated and perhaps defeated by the business and speculative interests. In Denmark the farmers have a national political party and they operate their own co-operative banks and credit associations. Indeed, they even own and operate factories which utilize agricultural by-products, for example, making leather hides into shoes.

Now all of this is radically different from the huge commodity co-operative associations organized here. These associations left the social system as it was, whereas the Danish system of thorough-going cooperation has actually produced a new social order. Furthermore, and this should be blazoned throughout rural America, the Danish farmer reorganized his agriculture under the guidance of an intellectual principle. An educational movement paralleled the economic movement from the start, and it was not merely the technical education so lavishly handed out to American farmers by state and federal departments of agriculture. The Danish farmer knows the technological aspects of farming but he also knows something about the world, about literature, history, economics, etc.

His folk-schools are little liberal colleges scattered throughout the countryside from which has arisen a social ideal.

The Danish farmer knows he cannot become wealthy through agricultural production but he realizes that he can lead a decent life of honest labor and enriched culture on the land. He lives and labors within the ambit of an economic-cultural idealism. But he is at the same realistic. He knows where power resides and he does not lull himself into contentment by false expectations. He farms efficiently, goes to school regularly, manages his own banks, conducts his own insurance societies, is represented by a national political party, and sells his products cooperatively. A great deal of the Danish farmer's success has been founded upon a principle which among our politicians would be called either paternalism or socialism. Even the cooperative insurance societies operate partially under government subsidy. This type of thoroughgoing cooperation has made possible a rural culture in Denmark, but it is a variety of culture which shocks the tenderminded American economists and politicians. The best the American farmer can hope for at present

is a cooperative system which will permit the large speculators and bankers to skim the cream off his agricultural income with greater ease.

IS the foregoing then merely a belated and futile argument on behalf of the moribund McNary-Haugen bill? And should the friends of agriculture place their hope in its revival? By all means, no; the McNary-Haugen bill has been used as a symbol and nothing more. It has become a sign of the modern farmer's desperation, and now, perhaps, of his economic defeat. But the discussion of this measure has at least brought the farm issue to the attention of city dwellers.

Other proposals for so-called farm-relief (a term indicative of charity and not statesmanship) will be debated in the future, and the experience of the McNary-Haugen bill should serve to make coming discussions more enlightened, and, we hope, more honest. To admit that the American farmer has been so far degraded as to be incapable of precipitating a national issue is to admit that our national life has begun to decay at its roots.

The Flood

RIVERS of America are roiling full of mud,
What can we do? What can we do?
Storm-clouds of yesterday sent an awful flood,
What can the people do?
Storm-clouds of yesterday sent an awful flood,
John Doe and Wilson paid the price of blood;
Standing where the river side is dangerous as a dud,
We ask if there is anything to do.

Blue mud is boiling on the Sacramento's banks,
What can we do? What can we do?
Yellow mud is roiling the Mississippi's flanks,
What can the people do?
Yellow mud is roiling the Mississippi's flanks,
Black mud is gassing the Androscoggin Yanks,—
Everyone indifferent to millionaires or cranks
Ballyhooin' something we should do.

Higher comes the freshet up, all the waters teem,
What can we do? What can we do?
Cattle, barns, and fences carried down the stream,
What can the people do?
Cattle, barns, and fences carried down the stream,
Slopes on which in other years the sun was glad to beam
Reek today with dirty oil, blasting Lincoln's dream,—
Are we helpless? Is there nothing we can do?

Dikes a hundred years have built crushed beneath the
bay,
What can we do? What can we do?
Bridges, locks, and villages swamped or swept away
What can the people do?
Bridges, locks, and villages swamped or swept away
Still we stand benumbed and dazed and will not even
pray;
Hoping every muddy stream will clear itself some day
We reckon there is nothing we can do.

WILBERT SNOW.



M.F.C.

Why Farmers Leave Home

HENRY ISRAEL

I LEFT the farm because I could not make money enough to pay the cost of educating my children. I was going behind financially. Am behind \$1,700 on my farm. Taxes used to be about \$18 to \$20 per year for 160 acres and now are \$100. Crops were regular failures and fertility was going down."

"Ninety-nine per cent of the farmers here are barely making a living by working 15 hours a day. This accounts for the number leaving the farms."

"Land too high, taxes too high. Boys and girls won't stay at home, prices of produce too low. The smell of the new mown hay, the song of the birds and cackle of hens,—none of these things delight the youth."

"The reason I left the farm was to better my condition. I am not a retired farmer but a tired one because we don't get a square deal. Everybody lives off of the farmer."

Thus the testimony of the farmer. And this can be swelled into a great chorus of the 250,000 other farmers who left the farms last year, the biggest number in any year since 1920, according to the estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture. There was a net movement of 1,020,000 persons away from farms according to this census.

And what does this mean to an industry which is still credited with a total capital investment of \$79,000,000,000 compared with \$41,000,000,000 invested in manufacturing industries, \$7,000,000,000 in mines and quarries and \$20,000,000,000 in our railroads, according to the report of the National Industrial Conference Board.

Agriculture purchases a tenth of the value of the manufactured goods produced; it supplies about an eighth of the tonnage of freight carried by our railroad system. Its products constitute nearly half of the value of our exports. Farms and farm property represent nearly one-fifth of our tangible national wealth. Agriculture contributed in recent years about one-sixth of the national income. Considered from the standpoint of the return of the farmer's own labor after deducting a commercial interest return on his capital, the average farm operating in the five-year period ending 1924 actually earned less than was paid to hired hands, the average being \$519 for the farm operator and \$607 for hired labor.

"Dirt" farmers are becoming landless. By 1880, 26 per cent of the farm people had become landless; by 1920, 38 per cent of all farmers were landless. In

nine leading agricultural states, nearly 50 per cent are without land of their own and in two states, more than 50 per cent are landless. By 1890, 28 per cent of the farms were mortgaged and by 1920, 40 per cent of all the farms in the United States were mortgaged. From 1920 to 1925 the farm mortgage debt in these states increased \$323,521,000. During the same time the value of these mortgaged farms dropped over one billion dollars.

The farmers in the United States equal 29.9 per cent of the total population and received in 1919, 17.7 per cent of the total income. In 1920, the farmer received 13.4 per cent of the total income. "During the six years from January 1, 1920 to January 1, 1926, they sustained a loss of about \$20,000,000,000 of their capital stock," according to Dr. Henry C. Taylor, formerly chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture.

IN any discussion of the farmer's economic position, the problem of his tax burden must assume importance. Farmers have long claimed that they are bearing too large a share of taxation considering their incomes, and various investigations support this contention. The Federal Department of Agriculture has recently published a study of the ratio between average taxes and cash rents, based upon twenty-six counties. In the Southern counties, which show the smallest ratio, taxes eat up from 5 to 12 per cent of the rents. In the Middle West the range is from 12 to 40 per cent. In the Middle Atlantic states the ratio reaches the amazing figures of from 31 to 66 per cent. The study is based on the last census year. Since that time taxes have been increased and rents reduced. A recent survey in Indiana shows that the ratio of taxes to rents increased almost threefold from 1919 to 1923. Are our farm people to be reduced to serfdom?

"We left the farm that we might get some compensation for labor. We worked on the farm during crop season from around 4:30 A.M. to 8 P.M. and when the year was ended and debts paid that we could pay, there was nothing left to start the next season with. Everything went on the debit side and none on the credit side. The money we had invested plus our labor did not net us as much as my salary now for only eight hours' work."

With what comfort can we of the city enjoy our breakfast when we know that it required the toil of the children of the farmer plus that of his ablest partner, his wife, as well as his own, without affording them a living.

"Everything a farmer has for sale brings such low prices and things he buys are so high, he never can get a dollar he can call his own. With the high rate of taxes and the expense of keeping up the farm you cannot make it pay expenses."

"We cannot get a decent living to repay us for our labor. In years when crops were good there was no price on anything, as for instance the fall of 1922, when potatoes were plentiful and sold for 50 cents a bushel. We sold potatoes as low as 25 cents per bushel in town to the warehouses and our own relatives were paying from \$1.50 up for them in Chicago. Who makes the profit? Not the farmer."

THE economic situation does not present the only inequality between city and country. Not more than 12 percent of the rural population of the United States has anything approaching modern health supervision. Statements from health officers in thirty states show that in hundreds of rural districts medical care is inadequate or absolutely lacking, conditions varying from serious to desperate.

That the rural school child suffers from a lack of health supervision is shown from the following statement. "The country schoolhouse is usually the most unsanitary and most inadequate type of building in the whole country, including not only building for human beings, but also those used for domestic animals." (Joint Committee of the *National Education Association* and *American Medical Association*.) A study under the same committee of the health defects of over 500,000 country school children showed that teeth defects, tonsils, adenoids, eye defects, spinal curvature and anemia predominated.

The death rate in rural districts has not been materially lessened in the last twenty years, while it has been reduced in the large cities. An article in *Hygeia* states that the city baby has four times as good a chance to attain the age of one month as the country baby. The city mother, too, even in the slums, has twice as good a chance of surviving the dangers of childbirth as the rural mother. This is because the city woman is under medical supervision before, during and after the birth of a child.

An investigation made in the office of the Commissioner of Health of a southern state for the purpose of comparing the state's expenditures for health per capita of the rural population with that of other rural and somewhat similar states, shows an average of 9.6 cents per capita for the year 1920. Rural health can be had for a price, but not much of it can be had by a state investing less than 10 cents per rural inhabitant.

The lack of doctors in rural communities and the trend of graduates to the cities is a menace to country areas. Forty Kentucky counties are without adequate

medical service, at least one county being without a single physician. In a Montana county of 5,000 square miles, there are only three doctors and no hospital. Two-thirds of the mothers meet the experience of childbirth without medical care. In Minnesota, 12 small villages reported the lack of a doctor. Similar conditions existed in the Dakotas. In an investigation for the State of Ohio, it was shown that, for the large towns and cities, there was one physician for 54 people, while in places of 2,500 and under, there was only one for every 1,600.

THE common belief in the country, that farm work ensures good physical development for youth, is not supported by a comparison of city and country health statistics. More children in rural than in urban schools have physical defects. Raymond G. Fuller writes that in the army camps it was found that city boys excelled country boys in symmetry of body, in quickness and sureness of action, and in resistance to fatigue. They were mentally more alert. This leads to the question, "What of the child in agriculture?"

The 1920 census showed that over 1,000,000 children or one out of 12 children between the ages of 10 and 15 in the United States, are at work. Agriculture employs three-fifths of the million child laborers, and manufacturing somewhat less than one-fifth.

The census takes no account of child laborers who do not miss more than half of their school attendance, although their wage-earning may be regular and seriously interfere with school work. Neither does it include children under 10 years, which other studies indicate is a very large number.

The Southern States have a larger percentage of child labor than any other section of the country because of the predominance of agriculture there. The outstanding crops which utilize large numbers of children, and which are regarded primarily as "child labor" because of either physical hardship or the interference with education involved, are cotton, sugar beets, tobacco, onions, berry and fruit picking and truck farming. Three factors in agricultural work must be considered in estimating its physical effect on the child: (1) age of children employed, (2) hours and continuity of work and (3) processes of work.

In a survey of 72,278 children working in tobacco cultivation, it was found that nearly one-half of the workers in the south and more than one-third of those in the Connecticut Valley were under 12 years, many being under 10 years. Ten hours constituted the usual working day. The long hours, the stooping and bending posture necessary in some processes, and the high reaching involved in others, the terrific summer heat aggravated by the cloth coverings in "shade grown" tobacco, the odor of the plants—all combine to make the work injurious for children.

In a study in Texas covering 998 families the National Child Labor Committee found that children are considered, not temporary or emergency workers, but regular hands. Of the 1,561 children under 16 in those families, nearly three-fourths worked in the fields. One-third of these were 10 years or under; more than half were under 12 years. Seven out of every ten have been working since they were 8 years old. The daily hours averaged from nine to eleven. In Texas local newspapers tell of cotton picking contests between boys 5 years old. The parents of another boy of 5 boasted that he had averaged 50 pounds a day during the season. In New Jersey children picked berries ten hours a day, crawling through marshes on hands and knees, and bunking at night in shacks 7 by 9 in size and shared with four or five others. One father declared that the work of his three children, 7, 9 and 11, was equivalent to that of two adults.

ONE of the serious results of child labor is the loss of school time. It was found that the children working in the Michigan beet fields had lost 64 per cent of their school time during the year. Forty-nine per cent were retarded from one to three years or more in their school work. In a large group of Philadelphia migratory families who followed the crops, 71 per cent of the children were retarded, according to a Federal Children's Bureau report, and 22 per cent were from three to six years below normal grade.

At best the school system under which the rural child receives his training is below that of the city. In 1926, of the 325,000 rural teachers employed, 50 per cent or 162,500 have not completed high school, 10 per cent or 32,500 have finished only the eighth grade and 15,000 only the sixth grade. 36 per cent of the rural teachers of the nation have had less than 2 years' experience and 25 per cent are less than 21 years of age.

The efficiency of the school depends primarily upon the teacher. Despite poor equipment any school may be made the source of inspiration not only to pupils but to the whole community if the teacher has the training and initiative. A study of rural teachers in one of the southern states showed that less than half have had any normal school, high school or summer school training whatever. A man teacher, when asked about his "preparation," said that he "attended two terms, in all eight months, of free school over 20 years ago." The preparation of another teacher had been "eight years in a rural school and a six-week term of country school taught by a teacher to a 'bunch of us.'"

The Educational Department in this state recognizes the seriousness of the situation. In its biennial report it writes: "The lack of trained teachers in the

state is eloquent in explaining our rank among the states. As things are, the blind are leading the blind so that we cannot help falling into the educational ditch. Almost one-half of our teachers are untrained. They have no education beyond eighth grade in a country school taught by someone who had an eighth grade education in a country school. The vicious circle is complete. There is no vision and our people perish."

The average annual salary of teachers in one-room school in 1925 was \$748; in two-teacher schools, \$759; in three-teacher schools \$865; in consolidated schools \$1,055 and in country village schools, \$1,186. The exodus from the teaching profession has been due in part only to low salaries. Unpleasant living conditions especially in rural sections, lack of social recognition, and above all opportunities for women in new lines of work have had their effect.

The short term is partly responsible for the lack of education of the country child. In the United States as a whole the rural school term is 36 days shorter than the city term. This means a loss of nearly two school months. Irregular attendance also is a fundamental cause of the lack of progress made, retardation being almost directly proportional to the amount of absence.

THE facilities available to the rural child for receiving religious instruction are also inadequate as compared with the opportunities open to the city child. In a study made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research it is estimated that 1,600,000 farm children live in communities where there is no church or Sunday School of any denomination. These unchurched communities comprise one-eighth of all the town and country communities in the United States. One reason why the churches are reaching the small town and country people less effectively than they reach any other class in the nation is because many ministers going into rural communities know nothing of rural life. In one rural county in the South a survey of 30 churches revealed only two ministers with any approach to the rural problems of the community. An examination of the curriculum of the theological seminary in which these men were trained, shows no subjects listed which would give students an insight into the social or economic problems of the country though the seminary definitely trains young men for parishes in this state which is largely rural.

Another condition, almost as serious, is found in the over-churched community. Here, because of the keen competition for members, the whole community is divided and it is practically impossible to get united action on any enterprise. Yet every fifth rural church is receiving home mission aid in order to survive. These annual aids average from \$200 to \$500 per

church, though more than half of these subsidized churches are in active competition with other subsidized churches.

That the farm woman feels strongly the lack of the spiritual uplift which she has the right to expect from the church, was expressed at a recent conference in which she voiced, "What's on the farm woman's mind." This was a conference of sixteen farm women chosen because of their contacts with other farm women and their ability to formulate their needs and desires. Other needs expressed were for education in health and citizenship, for joint bank accounts, joint wills, joint deeds, and uniform divorce laws affecting property, for efficient country doctors, better educational advantages for children, an appreciation of the farm surroundings, beautification of the farm home, help in child training, a mutual understanding

and appreciation between women of city and country.

These women had much the attitude so well expressed by H. A. Wallace, the son of the former Secretary of Agriculture: "One of our greatest need is to build up an ideal of a fine farm civilization with a high standard of living where the profits are not promptly capitalized in high land values. Spiritual and esthetic values are a reality. They must be built into the background of our farm life in the same way as the Danes have built their folk lore into their rural high schools. * * * * The chief end of a nation which hopes to endure is not to build up merely city civilization. We must have fine and enduring satisfactions in farm neighborhoods. Here is a matter to challenge the constructive imagination of the biggest men in the United States."

Green Blocs Around the World

ALVA W. TAYLOR

IT IS a striking fact in social evolution that depressed classes listen to few of their minor prophets. Hardships are endured and misfortunes run unattended of redemptive power; fear of change and the groove of habitual action, or lack of action, keep them on the same old way. But when the grim old prophet of despair arises they are liable to undertake action so emotional and radical as to destroy hope of any immediate recovery. The only safe way of reform is the sane way of education and that gradualness of change which builds the new without wrecking the foundations upon which both old and new have rested and must rest.

Denmark demonstrated how progress in farm fortunes could be wrought out with an economic statesmanship that remakes, without unnecessary destruction of those very values out of which the new order should be builded, while Ireland was thrust to the brink of destruction, before the unyielding bourbon temperament of the Tory made her new day possible. Lloyd George characterized the English landlord system as making Englishmen "aliens in the land of their birth," and in France, Russia and Mexico the feudal powers resisted change until revolution threw them into the economic discard with a pent up violence that was repayment for the slow torture a heartless landlordism had visited upon its victims.

Bishop Grundvig led Denmark through the economic transition with both Christian spirit and economic skill. A genuine green bloc was created; the great estates were broken up without confiscation; the tenant was transformed into a land owner; coopera-

tive enterprise was substituted for a competitive order that had been throttled by the skilled manipulation of greedy business "enterprise"; scientific agriculture was taught those who had hitherto obeyed a landlord and labored under the old serf theory that a "strong back and weak mind" are the best accoutrements for a son of the soil. In the small land, with a homogeneous people, and with their industry over-topping all others, it was possible for the Danish farmer to procure legislative help of a kind almost as effective as the rules by which a single big business governs its enterprises. Today nearly every farm is within a mile of a cooperative dairy, and 85 per cent. of the milk is handled, through all the processes of manufacturing and marketing, by cooperative enterprise. The same is true of pork, and most of the things required to carry on his farm business come back to the farmer through cooperative organization. A socialized spirit, a skilled economic engineering and a vocationally conscious statesmanship have wrought this rather bare and bleak little land into a model agricultural commonwealth.

THE green bloc in practically every land where there is any sort of politico-agricultural homogeneity is conservative. In England the despair of the Labor Party is the tiller of the soil; until he can be won there is no great hope of labor coming into full political power. Lloyd George is making an astute drive for the agricultural vote with his new land program. He has in hand one of the most complete studies ever made of a national business and upon the basis of it has outlined a program for the purchase

and the breaking-up of the great estates into small operator-owned farms. It is a safe guess that his more conventional program of small-farm, land-ownership will get more votes than will Labor's program for land nationalization. Already the Liberal party organization has held 10,000 local farm meetings and will hold 20,000 more. The old landlord and the squire will continue to vote Tory, but the little Welshman has a good fighting chance of creating a Liberal green voting bloc for the coming elections.

Taken as a whole the farm movements in Europe are more economic than political. There is a vocational consciousness among the farmers in several countries, but the group has not so far bulked formidably in politics. Norway has a small agrarian party; it elected seventeen representatives to the Storting in 1921 and is preparing for action in the next election. In Sweden agricultural activity of a social type is confined quite largely to economic enterprise and cooperative marketing is the rule. There is a Farm Peoples' Union, composed of small farmers and tenants, with a platform calling for the division of the big estates and cooperative farming, but 37,000 landlords still own as much as the 390,000 small farmers combined; the hard times since the war have brought many forced sales of small holdings with consequent purchase by the capitalist; farm loans have quadrupled in the past two decades and machine production has increased. This tendency, if it continues, will give emphasis to labor's contention that the economical way to farm such lands as England's and Sweden's is that of large farms, cooperatively worked by the use of machinery—in other words the application of the industrial process to agriculture.

IN France the farmer is a power in politics, but as a voter rather than as a political bloc. His reluctance to paying taxes and his economical habits are reflected in every election. Chambers of Agriculture are now being organized under governmental direction. In Italy the very effective cooperatives have been strangled by Mussolini on the theory that they were socialistic in their political bias. In Germany and Austria agrarian action is economic more than political, and voting tends to run counter to the political action of the wage earners. In Poland, where two-thirds of the land holdings of the small proprietors average less than twelve acres, and where, with 75 per cent of the population dependent upon agriculture, landlordism still reigns, the political meetings of the new agrarian parties are being broken up by the police. As is usual, where feudalism has projected itself into modern times, these parties are radical, demanding the confiscation of the old feudal estates and bearing, no doubt, a good tinge of Russian

communism. The government promised the division of at least 4,000,000 acres per year, but has actually divided less than half that amount, and has broken great estates up into smaller ones rather than turning them into small farmer owned homesteads.

IN Czecho-Slovakia the agrarian question has not only been most interesting but progress toward its solution has been most gratifying. Before the war more than one-half of the land was held in 1,200 great estates. One-tenth of one per cent of the people owned 38 per cent of wooded, pastured and cultivated soil. On the other hand, more than one-half of all the holdings were in plots of less than two acres. In 1919 radical land division laws were passed. The state took over all estates of more than 400 acres, valuation being fixed by commissions with rights of appeal to the courts provided. The breaking up of great estates into small farms has proceeded smoothly because the overwhelming majority of the people favored it, and the reaction upon national economy has been most wholesome. Landlordism in Bohemia, as elsewhere, resulted in the emigration of great numbers of the hand workers. Creating a nation of small operator-owners has tended to draw many of the emigrés back home. More than 10,000,000 acres have been divided into small homesteads, giving self-supporting homes to a half million families. Small landholders disabled soldiers and "legionaries" and their dependents were given preference. The best arable land went to actual farmers.

BOLSHEVIK Russia is proceeding with great caution on the farm question. Little advance has been made in the application of the principles of communism to agricultural production. The moujik has worked on the basis of a community ownership for centuries, but with each tiller of the soil working his own allotment on the basis of rotation of allotments. He owned his own stock and tools and sold his own crops in his own way. He has not taken kindly to the Bolshevik plan of holding and working in common, with all matters submitted to a commune or common council. So the government has yielded to a form of homesteading, philosophically hoping that the greed of the better-to-do and their dominance in local councils will in time convert the less fortunate to class-conscious action. They organized what were dubbed "pauper communes" in the villages, but this caused so much and such various trouble that they have left the villages to work out what they will for the present, promoting the meanwhile cooperation, education and a sense of patriotism toward the government. Efforts to make Russia strong must root in agricultural prosperity and here the Bolshevik meet a perplexity, for to make Russia strong they must make the

farmers prosperous, and to make farmers prosperous always makes them conservative. No class is more instinctively rooted to the idea of home owning. Land hunger is a universal hunger of rural population; it more than any one other single cause has lain at the root of most revolutions. We predict that Russia will return to social democracy whenever the Bolsheviks attempt to apply the principles of communism to that 90 per cent of the population that lives by tilling the soil.

MEXICO furnishes the most interesting example today of agrarian revolution. Woodrow Wilson said there would never be an end of revolution there until the land question was settled. Madero, himself a great land owner, was compelled to adopt a program of land division to enlist the peon in his revolution. It has been a cardinal plank in the platform of every leader since. Diaz even attempted to offer a sop of land division at the last hour to save his régime. Calles is proceeding with caution but with a genuine devotion to the program. When our State Department in 1923 objected to the expropriation of American holdings without cash indemnities, the Mexican government stated their dilemma frankly. They had neither cash nor credit after a decade of revolution. To refuse to break up estates held by Americans while dividing those held by Mexicans and others was impossible, and to delay the program of division meant the flaming up of agrarian revolution. So they pleaded that our government recognize their dilemma, take a moral and humane rather than a mere legal attitude, and allow them to proceed. This, let it be said to our credit, we did and more than 22,000,000 acres have been allotted to the old village *ejidos* and to family homesteaders. A going political alliance has been effected in Mexico between the rural peon and the industrial wage-earner. It is the mainstay of the Calles government. Credit unions and farm banks are organized, agricultural schools are being founded, irrigation works carried out on a large scale, and cooperatives promoted. The division of the land is proceeding as rapidly as can be done without lowering national agricultural productivity too much. That the agrarians are solidly behind the government is proven by the fact that though the rural citizenry had been disarmed when agrarian uprisings were taking place a few years ago, they were given arms recently when Catholic uprisings were threatened, good Catholics though the majority of them are.

MANY articles have been written upon the farm movement in the United States, if indeed it can as yet be called a movement. There are movements among the farmers, the selling cooperatives being perhaps the most conspicuous, but there is no homoge-

neous national farmers movement as yet. The farm bloc in Congress has not proven itself a political potent with much promise. It will no doubt support Coolidge and a Davis in 1928 with quite as much brainless partisanship as it did in 1924. The L. Follette uprising promised hope for the moment, but there is no assurance that it can be renewed in the next election.

The American farmer will probably work his way out, or at least try to, through the methods proven workable by big business. The religion of cooperation has no real rootage in his soul as yet; the Sapiro idea of using big business methods seems to appeal to him. It is beautifully consonant with G. O. P. political philosophy and the average mid-western farmer is a Republican before he is either a Christian or a farmer. The manner in which tariff propaganda has hoodwinked him for a generation is proof enough of this without further demonstration. The southern agriculturist is of the same fixed psychological type with Bourbon Democracy holding aloft the party banner.

The farm movement in this country is more an emotional atmospheric pressure, brought about by a period of hard times, than a green bloc founded upon any political alignment, or even a vocational consciousness. The American farmer is suffering quite as much from the purely capitalistic process of speculative land values as he is from low prices for farm produce. His prosperity in the mid-west and the west at least has been as much in the increase of his wealth through unearned increment as in either thrift or hard work; his sons will, for many a decade to come, pay interest upon the inflated values of the land which he turned into a handy retirement fortune. Agriculture will pay in increasing tenantry and a consequent decreasing of family income for the actual tiller of the soil, but even if this America of homesteaders and free homes becomes a land of landlords and peasants we will, at any cost, preserve the sacred dogmas of capitalism and *laissez faire*.

Macaws.

A GREEN sun shining on a sea of yellow,
Your colors are:
Your greens and yellows are better than a song,
And the rain falling
Murkily in the street!
Into what forest of pagodaed trees
Will you return, Macaws—
And stare
Knowingly, as you once stared
When Phoenix rose in flame,
And blow into the conchs of your beaks,
And climb with your club-feet?
Green-winged and yellow-breasted stolid birds!

PADRAIC COLUM

What Is on the Farmers' Backs?

BENSON Y. LANDIS

THE present distress of agriculture is due to the fact that some of the recognized burdens have become heavier during these post-war years. The farmer may be compared, in at least one respect, with the fox who captured a little red hen who escaped from the sack on his back and substituted a stone for herself. He used to regard some of his handicaps lightly; now these same things are much more formidable than during the pre-war years.

Agriculture is also at present the victim of a combination of unfavorable circumstances, which have never before been present in just the same fashion. I recognize that there are all sorts of farmers on all sorts of farms, but I am merely trying to mention some of the national tendencies which appear to be most in evidence. Some of them are more in evidence in one part of the country than in others.

So much by way of introduction. Now for the farmers' handicaps.

TO begin with a considerable portion of the farmers in the United States are living on land which a plow ought never touch. The so-called Southern Highlands are an illustration. Here are thousands of farm families living in chronic poverty, trying to wrest a living from land which will never yield a living. Will we ever be intelligent enough to farm good land, some of which is being wasted, and not toil in vain on barren ground?

If we proceed to credit, the neglect of agriculture is very patent. The rural communities offer some of the most extreme illustrations of usury. I have never heard of an agricultural economist who said that our

national banking system was developed with fair consideration of the needs of agriculture. A combination of heavy mortgage indebtedness at a time of falling price levels is the special concern of farmers at the present time. Many of them bought land in sections where prices of land

were extremely high in 1919 and 1920. They gave big mortgages. Now they must pay interest upon large debts out of slender incomes. The 1925 census figures on mortgage indebtedness (gathered only upon farms operated by owners) reveal the increase in interest charges carried by agriculture then, as compared with 1920. The proportion of farms operated by owners having a mortgage indebtedness is practically the same in 1925 as in 1920. The value of the mortgaged farms (including land and buildings) shrank from \$13,775,500,013 in 1920 to \$10,790,244,351 in 1925. But the most important consideration is the increase in the amount of mortgage debt, which grew from \$4,003,767,192 in 1920 to \$4,517,258,689 in 1925. Expressed differently the ratio of mortgage debt to total value in 1920 was 29.1 and in 1925, 41.9. It is prob-

able that interest rates declined slightly during the period, but not sufficiently to alleviate conditions. There is undoubtedly a serious shortage of short-term bank credit at fair rates of interest in many farming districts.

Our complicated and costly distribution system adds to the farmers' handicaps. Round steak sold to city consumers in 1923 at five times the price received by farmers for cattle on the hoof, whereas in 1890 the

THE value of farm land and buildings in the United States declined \$20,000,000,000 between January 1, 1920, and January 1, 1926. This was a decrease of 25 per cent. Values of farm land alone declined 31 per cent. Since that date there have been, in all probability, further declines.

The return upon the capital invested in farming was 4.6 per cent in the year 1925-26; 4.4 per cent in 1924-25; 3.5 per cent in 1923-24; 3.2 per cent in 1922-23; 1.2 per cent in 1921-22; 0.5 per cent in 1920-21, as compared with 6.3 per cent for 1919-20, which was still a "boom" year. The only year for which comparable statistics of corporations are available is 1923, when the return upon their capital, as reported to the Treasury Department, was 11.0 per cent, while that of agriculture was approximately 3.3 per cent.

The "labor incomes" of farmers, defined by the research economists as their reward for services as both managers and workers, were during recent years as follows: \$917 in 1919-20; \$270 in 1921-22; \$533 in 1923-24; and \$648 in 1925-26.

The index of prices of 30 agricultural products averaged 205 in 1920, dropped to 116 in 1921, rose to 147 in 1925 and since then has been declining until in April, 1927 it was 125. The purchasing power of agricultural products was in April, 1927, about 83 per cent of what it was during the five years prior to July, 1924.

In 1880, only one-fourth of the farms of the United States were operated by tenants; now about four out of ten farmers are tenants, and they cultivate two-thirds of the improved acreage in farms.

1920 census disclosed 31,614,269 persons on farms; that of 1925 records 28,981,693.

Prior to the war those engaged in the agricultural industry received about 20 per cent of the national income. Recently they seem to be receiving, according to Dr. Henry C. Taylor, one of our best known agricultural economists, only about 10 per cent.

city price was only three times as much. The "spread" between farm and city table has thus considerably widened. This is probably not true for all products, but studies of the Congressional Commission of Agricultural Inquiry, published in 1922, indicated that in general farmers received a little less than 40 per cent of what the consumer in large cities pays for his food. Curiously enough, studies of distribution indicate that large profits are not frequent in the handling of food, but numerous handlings and costly processing are mainly responsible for the "spread" between the farm prices and those of the urban consumer. The growing tendency on the part of the consumer to expect a great deal of "service" in connection with purchases has also operated to make food distribution costly.

THE heavy taxes which farmers pay upon their property add to the cost of production and cut into their incomes. The National Industrial Conference Board has found farmers paying heavier taxes, in proportion to their incomes, than any other economic group, and it may be recalled that few farmers pay income taxes. The Wisconsin College of Agriculture also finds this to be true. So conservative an economist as Richard T. Ely says that if present tendencies in taxation continue farmers will be virtually tenants of the state. Studies of the United States Department of Agriculture indicate that taxes are absorbing a large proportion of the "rent" of farms. Their studies are for the year 1919, when local taxes, which hit the farmer hardest, were lower than they are now and incomes were higher. Therefore the situation is probably more serious now than at that time. In twelve out of twenty-six sample areas studied, the taxes upon land were the equivalent of more than 20 per cent of the net cash rent of farms. In five of these twelve areas the taxes were equal to more than 30 per cent of the cash rent. It is because of this fact that we have reports like the one of February 1, 1924 in the *New York Times* that five hundred Arkansas farms were auctioned off by Conway county for a total of \$14,736, this being the amount due for taxes and penalties for non-payment of taxes. Thirty counties in Northern Wisconsin are at this writing reported to be holding considerable land which they cannot even sell for an amount equivalent to the taxes due.

Lest we forget the influence of unfavorable weather and of other natural forces, let us note the latest word upon the agricultural situation from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture. Speaking of the weather during April and May, the report says: "Throughout the North the rains and cold weather delayed spring planting probably two weeks later than average. The

floods in the lower Mississippi Valley have swept over an immense area during the past month. In contrast the Southeast and a portion of the Southwest have suffered from drought. Eastern pastures and Western ranges alike have been slow to furnish spring feed. . . ."

PERHAPS the most important matters of all are the international influences. Farmers have been slow even to recognize that international factors have anything to do with their industry. When their organizations have been vocal, they have usually endeavored to deal with international competition by calling for a high protective tariff. What Henry A. Wallace, the editor of *Wallace's Farmer*, has called the "post-war reversal of credit balances" is to a large degree responsible for the difficulties of the producers of commodities that are exported, particularly cattle, wheat, and cotton. Prior to the war, in the language of international trade, we paid Europe the interest we owed her by sending her our beef, pork, wheat, cotton (and, of course, other products). Now Europe must send us several hundred millions of dollars yearly upon debts she owes us and she buys less of our food. This means that the policy of collecting interest upon the war debts puts a limitation upon the markets of the farmers of the South and West. But the present federal government would rather reduce the income taxes of wealthy Americans by collecting money from our foreign debtors than try to ease the situation for the farmers. It must be remembered in this connection, however, that the long-term trend of our exports of food has been downward since about 1900 and that the war period only temporarily reversed the trend. Our farmers are increasingly in competition with those of the newer countries (e. g. Canada, Australia, Argentine) which produce at low cost from new lands. And some of the European countries, e. g., Italy, are making spectacular efforts to raise more of their own food.

A FEW other things can only be mentioned briefly. Agriculture adjusts itself slowly to changes in world business, because it is unintegrated, with 6,000,000 units freely competing, and because the "turn-over" of capital in the industry must always be slow. The National Industrial Conference Board has tried to sum up the maladjustment of agriculture by saying that it has had to commercialize itself without having available the techniques of commercialization.

Of the results of the working of protective tariffs we have little scientific knowledge, but what we have seems to indicate that the duties upon agricultural products, with the exception perhaps of those upon wool and sugar, are of negligible or no advantage to agriculture. It is also frequently alleged that the

tection of urban industries may have the effect of handicapping farmers by adding to the cost of the equipment and supplies which they must buy from manufacturers.

Farm families had in 1920 4,000,000 more persons under 21 years of age than an equivalent number of city families. One of our poorest economic groups must thus educate the largest number of children per family, and, because of population movements, must try to educate a large proportion only to hand them over to the cities.

One of the ironies of the present situation is that the tremendous expenditures of money by the federal government for education in agricultural production has been a factor in bringing on large surpluses in some commodities and in giving rise to political agitation for surplus control. Henry A. Wallace estimates that among efficient farmers, production per man has increased about 20 per cent in a generation. He be-

lieves that as compared with pre-war years, Iowa farmers have increased grain yields five per cent by cultivating higher yielding strains; also that by new methods of feeding they are producing the same quantity of pork as before the war with two hundred million less bushels of corn. This is one reason for a corn surplus.

The New York *Times* in an editorial on June 13, 1927, points out that in this "electrical age" only about 500,000 out of about 6,000,000 farms have the benefits of electricity. The remainder are "burning kerosene lamps, still handling the produce of the farm by sweat and brawn. A factory worker may have as much as fifty horsepower at his disposal; for all his tractors and gasoline engines the American farmer has less than five. Backbreaking drudgery, long hours, small profits, have increased the population of industrial centers at the expense of the countryside."

THE YOUNGER POINT OF VIEW



The Garden

THERE is a Garden that I know,
Where Hollyhocks and Roses grow:
And often when the day is fair,
I take my doll a-walking there.

I play the blossoms and the trees,
The birds and all the honey-bees,
And everything that I can see
Inside the fence belongs to me.

I am a Fairy Queen, I play.
I give the blossoms all away;
And any child who wishes to,
May come inside and pick a few.

I must not touch a flower or vine,
Because they are not *really* mine;
But when folks leave the gate a-jar,
Nurse lets me *make-believe* they are.

MABEL LIVINGSTONE.

Conflict of Authority

MOTHER says that I can go,
Father says—I can't;
Granny says—she loves me so—
"Take it up with Aunt;"
Uncle feels it isn't wise;
Sister scoffs . . . "My dear . . ."
Grand-dad twinkles with his eyes . . .
Isn't the Family—queer?

RUTH MASON RICE.

Under All—The Land

CHARLES L. STEWART

LAND questions are fast becoming world questions. Refusal to consider some of these questions from the world point of view has already led to confusion. The United States or any other nation that refuses to take the broader point of view where the prevailing attitude is inadequate may work injustice not only upon its farmers and consumers, but upon the various classes in other countries as well.

It is not correct, however, to assume that all land problems have yet become full-fledged world problems. Problems in land ownership and tenancy, for example, are usually national, or, as in the case of the United States, less than national in scope. In the United States, tenure questions can usually be more correctly viewed as state questions or questions affecting such regions as the cotton belt or the corn belt. In cases in which the states have limited the rights of ownership and tenancy of persons who have not yet declared intention to become citizens of the United States, or of persons who under Federal law or treaty are not eligible to become citizens of the United States, international difficulties are sometimes threatened. In some other cases treaties arrange for reasonable periods in which alien heirs may hold property pending sale. Despite these international aspects of land tenure, it is ordinarily more constructive to look upon the ownership, inheritance, tenancy, and mortgage encumbrance of land as almost purely domestic problems of nations or of states, provinces, and other local areas.

Suppose, for example, that the United States Congress were to attempt to legislate into being a system whereby tenants would be credited with improvements made upon rented land and left for owners or succeeding tenants to use. Our Congress could do this only for farm land in the District of Columbia and for land in the public domain. The British Parliament in enacting and reenacting the Agricultural Holdings Act developed a tenant compensation system which applies throughout England and Wales, and, with modifications, throughout Scotland. No such power inheres in the Congress of the United States. Fortunately, considering the wide differences between production belts and even between different parts of states, control of land tenure is almost entirely a matter to be handled state by state in this country.

THE near absence of central control over land tenure in the United States is to be compared with the complete absence of such control over land utili-

zation. Perhaps in no fields is there any less probability that constitutional amendments will change the legal arrangements than in these. However fortunate it may be that land tenure is under state rather than Federal control, and seldom the subject of international concern, it is not fortunate that there is little central control over the use of land in the United States and in the world as a whole.

About the only central control exercised upon the use of farm land in the United States is that which arises through Federal policies affecting the availability of labor and other means of production. When Federal policies were favorable to immigration one effect was to supply the urban need for cheap labor with immigrants, and to allow the native stock to press out upon the new land. When Federal policy became less favorable toward free immigration one effect was to drain the farm labor supply into the cities. High rates of wages have an effect upon employing farmers as significant as low prices. Federal policy keeping down the prices of foodstuffs during the World War has been matched by Federal policy keeping up the labor costs of their production since the War.

THE key to the difficulty lies in the problem of procuring more equitable exchange in world markets. This is especially important in the case of products going from the United States to customers across the Atlantic. Two Federal policies have made this adjustment one of the deepest importance. Our import duties hamper foreign customers in replacing products received from us by manufactured products sent directly back. The result is replacement by the three cornered method—manufactured goods to Brazil, for example, thereby facilitating the sending of Brazilian rubber and coffee to the United States—or reluctant acceptance of our exports when similar products can be had from Canada or elsewhere. Reluctance to accept our exports is increased when the necessity of sending over manufactured goods to pay for food and other products sent to Europe during the World War is added to that of replacing with shipment back to the United States their current takings of our farm and other products. The Federal policy of non-cancellation of inter-government debts incident to the World War is thus a factor of great importance in the future from the standpoint of the export branches of our agriculture. Bulky products of the land requiring in the case of most of our farm exports long land hauls in addition to sizable sea hauls having

be traded in world markets and replacement goods are to be sent back as items part of which are duty-free, part subject to low duties, and part subject to high duties.

The need for more equitable exchange is not peculiar to our exports produced on the land, but the inequality upon such products is especially marked. As Metham, the English authority, points out in his "Politics and the Land," the bulk of the world production of agricultural commodities is a result of peasant bandry. To meet this competition in overseas markets when Federally-stimulated costs are at high figures, is no small task for American farmers with their use of tractors and other labor-saving devices. Import permit privileges if used as bounties on agricultural exports could offset the major part of this inequality.

It is conceivable that unless we redress our policies in the direction of more equitable exchange in world markets, our farmers will be forcibly ejected from these markets years or decades before such a result could be due as a result of natural conditions.

Farming in the United States is not alone in the latter referred to, for Australia, Argentina, and other countries exporting agricultural products could turn toward national repression of the export branches of their agriculture so that extinction of such exports could become a widespread tendency.

WHERE is a doctrine abroad in the United States that challenges the propriety of the production of any farm product in this country in excess of the amount consumed here. It should be clear that such a doctrine could not be made universal in all export grain and fiber producing countries without breaking down the world's territorial division of labor. An appeal to abolish exports of farm products is as illogical as an appeal to abolish exports of manufactured products. Not only is such a doctrine inconsistent with payment of international debts, but its logical result would be the stoppage of practically all international trade at its source. Such an outcome should have a place only in the dreams of the militarist who pictures each nation as a water-tight economic compartment.

The size of the gap which American farmers would leave other farmers a chance to fill if we were to quit producing for export is, according to a notable study made in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 56 per cent of the total world net international trade in the case of cotton and in the case of some other crops the following percentages: wheat, 25; corn, 18; oats, 10; and rice, 2. In the case of lard the corresponding percentage is 92, and in the case of pork, 73.

The demand that our national production from the land be confined to and correlated strictly with the demands of our own people is a travesty upon that

which natural sciences teach as to differences in soils in various parts of the globe and upon that which economic science teaches as to how commercial gravitation should move products from places where they can be grown with most favor by Nature to those places where replacement goods are most advantageously produced.

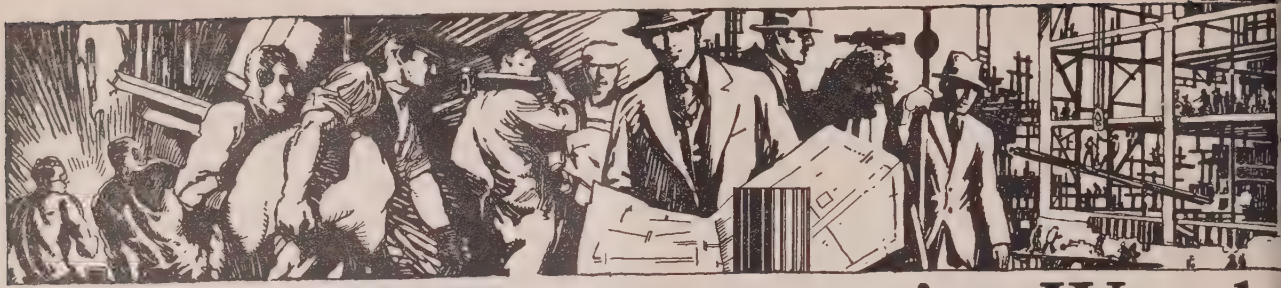
For inherent qualities in soil and climate exert power which it should be beyond the design of legislators to overthrow. In the struggle against the pretensions of those whose nationalism is based upon a disregard for agronomic and economic factors—nationalism of an order strangely out-of-date—there is arrayed the genius of man cheapening the transportation of even the bulkiest products and making territorial division of labor more insistent.

THE folly of nationalistic extinction of farm exports is not to be confused with the wisdom of international control of world trade in such exports. If the farmers of the United States were offered a treaty arrangement whereby there might be a concerted scaling down of wheat acreage in all countries producing 50 per cent or more of their respective requirements, they might be attracted to support it. A reduction of, say, 2 per cent in the acreage planted in all of such countries could be expected to have a significant effect upon the world price of wheat over a period long enough to enable yields to average normal. Such a reduction in the United States would not have its benefit lost for farmers here by a more than corresponding expansion in one or more other countries. Such a reduction might be made a basis for treaty action in the United States without a constitutional amendment.

If various countries producing grain and fiber for export find methods of enabling these exports to leave them and to be replaced by goods received by them on the basis of more equitable exchange, the need for concerted action to protect the world markets from oversupply may be increased.

But when restraint of production of farm exports entering world markets becomes the primary need, it is clear that the policy of restraint should not be limited to one or two countries, but should include all countries concerned. To ask American farmers to do all the retreating for the whole army of world producers of any export product is not merely to ask that our farmers be blind but that our nation be subject to economic distortion.

Under all is the land, and in the utilization of national power and intelligence to give the land its chance to assist the various national groups to a more natural order of production lies one of the brightest hopes of the twentieth century.



Building Tomorrow's World

Intelligence Is Not Enough

WOULD any religious leaders today exclude intelligence from the list of necessities for the better world of tomorrow? Very few, I believe. Intelligence has been written into all plans for future building as the cement which shall tie the whole together. Our giant educational machine is more or less clearly understood to be working toward this end.

And it cannot be denied that the case for intelligence is strong. It was intelligence which threw off the ignorance and superstition of the old and created the new age. When men believed that the ringing of bells stopped the lightning, when they staked their salvation on the non-existence of antipodes, when they declared that witches caused disease in animals and misbehavior in children, when their ornithology taught that birds hibernated in the sea, when the thousand curious fancies conjured up by the uncontrolled imagination were believed as eternal truth: there was little hope of understanding nature and man. The vigorous use of intelligence swept away these cobwebs which obscured the free vision of man. All honor to that intelligence!

Nor is the case for intelligence weaker today. Intelligence has revolutionized our world completely in the last fifty years. Medicine has studied the human body and its diseases and it has succeeded in increasing marvelously the average length of life. Chemistry has learned to tie up matter in ever different ways, thereby completely changing our mode of living. Time and space have yielded to the persistent efforts of mind until they have largely disappeared. There is under way an attack on the atom, whose break-up will release astonishing energy on the world. These marvelous changes are real triumphs for intelligence.

The need for intelligence is today greater than ever. For out of the very advance of man have grown problems which threaten to undo all his great achievements. There has arisen labor conflict in all its bitterness; the slums; the corrupt politics of the city; overflowing prisons with their enormous problems of human reconstruction; the struggle for liberty against interests strongly entrenched; international rivalries and war.

Over against these pressing problems we find much dangerous nonsense masquerading as truth: men speak of the inevitableness of war, they try to hide barbarisms under the cloak of religion, they invoke science to justify their racial intolerance, they appeal to the iron laws of economics to explain their ruthless exploitation of their fellows. There is crying need for clear, persistent, unafraid thinking to clear away these obstructions from the path of man.

THERE is, then, undeniably a strong case for intelligence. Yet the fact remains that in the centuries of Christian history intelligence has very often been suspect by the religious. It was denounced as "the bride of Satan" and Scripture was freely quoted against all who presumed to exercise their human prerogative and think. The religious insisted that true knowing was faith and that their religious mysticism was far superior to intelligence. Thus it happened that within the church were found almost regular recurrent periods in which intelligence and mysticism were alternately extolled and condemned. Witness the Neo-Platonic revivals in the Age of the Renaissance, in Deistic England, and Dean Inge in the twentieth century.

The classic examples of the hatred of intelligence and the exaltation of mysticism will perhaps always be those outstanding medieval saints, St. Francis and St. Bernard. St. Francis often warned his followers against books. A typical admonition follows:

"My brothers who are led by the curiosity of knowledge will find their hands empty in the day of tribulation. I would wish them rather to be strengthened by virtues, that when the time of tribulation comes they may have the Lord with them in their straits—for such a time will come when they will throw their good-for-nothing books into holes and corners."

Again we are told that one of the brothers begged to be permitted the possession of a psalter. The request does not seem exorbitant. The saint first granted it, but shortly repented of the "wrong," saying:

"Whoever wishes to be a Minorite must have nothing but a tunic, as the rule permits, and the cord, and the loincloth, and what covering is manifestly necessary for the limbs."

Another time some in the order wanted to persuade a to "follow the counsel of the learned brothers and sometimes let himself be guided by them," but the at replied:

"God said that he wanted me to be a pauper and an idiot—a great fool—in this world and would not lead us by any other path of science than this. But by your science and syllogisms God will confound you, and I trust in God's warders, the devils, that through them God shall punish you, and you will get come back to your proper station with shame, whether you will or no."

Side by side with St. Francis stands St. Bernard. His greatest contemporary was Peter Abelard, that marvelous intellect considered a danger by many. St. Bernard spent much of his time and huge efforts to found the learned Abelard. He pleaded in Rome drastic action against him, because he "deems himself able by human reason to comprehend God together."

What these men opposed to the intellect was mysticism. Traveling the mystic way they reached God truer and surer than any other way. They were never troubled by doubts. God was always with them. This gave to them great emotional satisfaction. They got intense spiritual joy out of their mysticism. They knew no limits in their devotion and they feared no sacrifice. Whatever they saw as duty they accomplished, whatever the cost. And their lives were warmed by the "knowledge" that God was with them.

VIEWING now this important historic conflict between these two, what shall we say? That there is a case for both is manifest. There is also a case against both. There is good reason for the distrust of intellect, aside from anything the mystic may say. What has occupied the best minds through the centuries? Were they not often busy thinking up the most exquisite forms of torture and torture instruments? A visit to a medieval torture chamber makes the imagination reel. And what are the best minds engaged in today? Are not many of them busy in the same way? Poison gases, one more atrocious than the other, are loudly announced by inventors, fervently defended by militarists and eagerly adopted by governments.

Furthermore, is it not true that the possession of "intelligence" has enabled man very often to make himself more silly and more contemptible than any other living thing? More fiendish things than the Witches' Hammer," that guide-book for witch detection and persecution, can hardly be imagined. Nor such things as the defense of war as part of Christian ethics or the sheer coarse vulgarity of some of the New York tabloids reflect the least credit on man's intellect.

And even with the best of men there are shocking

examples when the intellect has proved a poor guide. Consider the case of the excellent James Bryce. More intelligent, more widely read man has seldom lived. Through study, through travel, through innumerable contacts he knew the world. Yet when the world war came it was this very man who so far denied his intellect that he imagined it to be a conflict between saints and demons, who became so uncritical that he permitted himself to be used for stirring up hatred against the enemy through a campaign of lies.

There is then a case against "intelligence." It does go wrong, tragically wrong. Socrates' great mistake was the thought that men would do right when they knew what was right. They will not always. Men may see the lighthouse which is to guide them, but the storm may be so furious that they cannot get to shore. Or they may find themselves becalmed on the way. Intelligence alone is often academically cold, barren and offish. It disregards human needs so long as intelligence is satisfied. It scorns action as often as not. It finds difficulties inevitable or insuperable. It often becomes cold intellectualism, which readily snaps over into cynicism. Intelligence, then, is not enough.

WHAT then? Is the mystic right, that intelligence must go and that mysticism alone will save the world? I think not. Mysticism has gone astray as often as intellect and quite as fatally. How easily all sorts of superstition may co-exist in a simple mind with a sweet mystic and moral tone! Nor dare we forget the fantastic crotchets which have so often characterized mystics. The mystic lives next door to the ascetic and often feels happy with a hair shirt on his back and pointed nails for his bed or the mud of the Nile as his pillow, the solitude of the mountain fastness being his companion. Or he is a neighbor to the enthusiast, reveling in heavenly visions, overflowing with sickly sentimental or gaudy raptures about God. Despite all the devotion and power generated by them, they waste their efforts so frequently by complete lack of intelligent guidance.

Here, then, are two valuable elements of religion and life: intelligence and mysticism. Where they try to go their ways independently of one another they oftentimes do more harm than good. Or they become innocuous and quite useless. But when an alliance is made between the two, they are a force for much good.

There are many things needed for the better world of tomorrow: sensitive and discriminating judgment of right and wrong; a fine enthusiasm for justice; a wide tolerance of other opinions and ways; a free and ready cooperation with others; a strong sense of brotherhood. But mysticism guided by intelligence will always be a great need for the religious.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

Not in the Headlines

Sacco and Vanzetti

Governor Fuller has reprieved the Italian radicals under sentence of death for a month. So much time at least is needed for a careful study of this internationally important case.

Our Pension Bill

The United States Government has been paying pensions since 1790, and in this period has disbursed more than seven billion dollars for this purpose. Last year more than \$200,000,000 was paid out. The pension roll now numbers more than half a million persons.

A Strange Debate

That was a strange debate in the House of Commons when Sir Arthur Ponsonby moved that the British air force be done away with and Britain become in fact as well as in name a Christian nation. In the course of the day's debate which followed, one member of the house read the Sermon on the Mount and called attention to the fact that during the recent troubles in China the safest foreigners in the whole country were the Germans, because they were unarmed.

Who Owns Mexico?

Moises Saenz, Mexican sub-Secretary of Education, has estimated that more than two-thirds of the national wealth of Mexico belong to foreigners, many of them "absentee owners" and that foreign investments in Mexico are increasing. A "conservative estimate" of the value of foreign investment, chiefly American, British, French and German, in Mexico puts the total at two billion dollars.

According to Robert W. Dunn, nationally recognized authority on investments, the American investment in Mexico is over \$1,280,000,000. American citizens hold one-fifth of the total foreign debt of Mexico, and represent over 57 per cent of the Mexican oil industry.

Danger!

"The proposal to outlaw war is one of those projects which appeal specially to a nation seeking an object not revealed on first presentation. To the pacifist and the unthinking, it has a pleasant tinkling sound foreannouncing the fruition of that wonderful idea of the Brotherhood of Man of which Tennyson sang so sweetly half a century ago. But to the hard headed practical statesman who is unwilling to jeopardize the vital interest of America, who is confronted by the specific declaration of the Constitution reserving the war-making power to Congress, and who is indisposed to permit the United States to be drawn into foreign entanglements, it has a harsh, raucous note which cries 'Danger!' We doubt if the Administration will negotiate any such pacts, and if it does—well, the Senate will dispose of them as it did of the League of Nations."

From Army and Navy Journal.

Finally an Excuse for a War Department

The Mexican Government, attempting to reduce its high percentage of illiteracy has hit upon the plan of establishing libraries all of the largest garrisons. The War Department is in charge of the distribution of books to these libraries, and is encouraging soldiers to spend their spare time in reading.

Debs Memorial Radio Station

Members of the Federal Radio Commission have assured trustees of the \$250,000 Debs Memorial Radio Fund, 31 Union Square, New York City, that the fund will be granted a license to broadcast the moment it purchases a broadcasting station.

With this assurance, Norman Thomas, chairman of the fund, declared that the Debs fund will resume its negotiations for purchase of a high-powered station in the New York area. He expects to announce the purchase of a station very shortly.

How the Censors Sell a Book

The recent arrest of a book clerk in Boston for selling a copy of Upton Sinclair's *Oil!*, pronounced by a judge there as a book "tending to corrupt the morals of youth," is an example of what censorship may do to help a book along. At present the publishers Albert & Charles Boni, are unable to keep a book in stock. For editions had to be ordered, two were exhausted as soon as the books arrived, a third is being rushed from the bindery, a fourth is being printed, and paper has been ordered for a fifth.

Two hundred and fifty copies were printed and called "the Fig Leaf edition." These books had a large fig leaf printed over the pages which were ruled obscene by the Boston judge. They were all sold out the same day they appeared.

Peaceful Picketing and the Police

Recently the Supreme Court gave a decision in regard to picketing which was hailed as a great victory for labor. Regardless of the decision, wholesale arrests are made daily, and the interpretation of "peaceful picketing" is left to the police magistrates.

Wholesale arrests have marked the furriers' strike ever since it began several weeks ago, and strikers have been given sentences of three, five, ten, fifteen, thirty, sixty days, and even six months.

In Philadelphia, Judge Edwin O. Lewis of Common Pleas Court No. 2 granted to the Philadelphia Carpet Company an injunction prohibiting the Tapestry Carpet Workers' Union No. 1 from picketing the plant, where a strike has been in progress since September 22, 1926.

The union has been in court many times, fighting against injunctions since November last, always proving beyond question that the charges brought against them by the firm were untrue. Until recently, the picket line was kept intact, but on June 7 the court without even going through the formality of a trial, granted the injunction solely on the accusations brought by the firm. The union was given no chance to defend itself or refute the charges.

Books About the Land

Why Farmers Behave Like Rural Beings

The Expansion of Rural Life,¹ James Mickel Williams completes the work, begun in his earlier book "Our Rural Heritage," of tracing the evolution of rural social psychology from the self-centered individualism of frontier days into the present dawning of the era of cooperation.

Dr. Williams finds that deep rooted attitudes very largely determine rural behavior, more so in the past than now. The increasing number of contacts with the modern world is helping the rural population to feel more at home with ideas than formerly, but the ideas which gather voltage are those expressing deep rooted attitudes. There are three fairly distinct types of farmers revealed by their attitudes and dispositions to react according to certain reasonably well defined habit patterns. There is the reactionary individualist with the nature configuration, the compulsive speculator, and the thoughtful progressive with constructive imagination.

Professor Williams therefore traces for each of these three types the changes taking place in their family—religious, social, educational, intellectual, political and juristic, as well as work and business attitudes under the maladjustments following the coming of the West in the period 1874-1900 and subsequently under the re-adjustments of the period into which we have just entered. In the first period of expansion of rural life the attitudes and configurations of the isolated family and neighborhood with self-discipline and self-sufficient individualism were disintegrated by contacts with the business world centered on profit making. We are now in the second period of expansion with the family and neighborhood we-feelings being slowly replaced by the developing community spirit of cooperation. But the old individualism still persists and inhibits the cooperative spirit—the lack of hope for the farmer in his struggle for the good life.

The book contains a scientific analysis of the social psychology of rural development with an economic interpretation of the psychology of the rural community. It is based on a quarter century of living in and studying six typical communities in various important crop regions of New York state, supplemented by a comparative study of other communities in the South and Middle West. This personal study of the communities and talking with residents has been supplemented by painstaking research through the files of the country newspapers and church records for documentary evidence to verify and supplement the results of field work. Dr. Williams approached this research as a scientist trained in economics and sociology as well as psychology, enabling him to delve into the inner workings of people's minds and give a very plausible explanation of why farmers and villagers behave as they do.

The facts presented seem to justify the economic interpretation. The rural churches have failed to supply the idealism and inspiration for progress and leadership. The reactionary property interests dominate the educational machinery so it turns "middlemen" which has aroused the leaders to organize co-

operative associations to gain power to bargain with the organized merchants and manufacturers. It is the cooperatives which are developing the community spirit.

Will these farmers' unions learn to cooperate with the city labor unions for continuous progress toward the good life, as Dr. Williams suggests? Who will analyze and interpret the city wage-earner as he has the farmer? For mutual understanding is the basis of cooperation.

GORDON H. WARD.

Main Street and Farm Avenue

In American Agricultural Villages,¹ by Hughes, Patten, and Brunner, the opening chapters deal with the interrelationship of village and country and attempt not only to show the effect of the recent agricultural depression upon villages but also to analyze the structure of the village community and to discuss the interrelationships of village and open country dwellers. Perhaps the unique contribution of this book is the creation of a "Wealth Index" (See Appendix E and Ch. 10) which can be used for "Measuring the variation in Village Wealth" by a Home Mission Board, a Public Health Nurse, nay even by the Tired Business Man who is about to launch a program in a given town and may wish to forecast the size of his program and the possibilities of its success.

But in *Village Communities*,² by Edmund S. Brunner, the statistics become flesh and blood. Fascinating people walk across the pages telling us who have lived in small towns what we've known before and mayhap laughed at but never really understood. It is Dr. Brunner who interprets the social significance of the attitudes often caused by the utter sterility of life in these places, especially in the case of the young people for whom little is planned and who find themselves hemmed in by an overwhelming number of old people and widows.

There are many conflicts dividing the people of a small town. Machiavelli could have taken private lessons in statescraft from one villager who said: "At last I chose a Methodist dry man, cashier of the Farmers National Bank and interested in the electric company; an Episcopal wet man, a Democrat, president of the National Bank and president of the gas company. The last man I chose was a great Democrat, dry Methodist, not associated with either bank, but giving his business to both, and not mixed up with the lighting business." Needless to say his committee succeeded.

We find Home Mission Boards sometimes contributing to the social confusion by subsidizing a local church where there is already much competition for church support and loyalty. "The churches act together in many ways. This is illustrated by the way they ring the three church bells. First there are two strokes from the Baptist bell, then two from the Presbyterian, then two from the Methodist and so on in rotation. . . ."

Read 'em and weep and learn much is our recommendation for these two books.

ELSA BUTLER GROVE.

¹Published by Knopf. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$4.00.

²Published by Doran. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$3.50.

³Published by Doran. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$2.25.

What of the Farm?

THE American Country Life Association has sponsored a symposium on *Farm Income and Farm Life* in which 46 essays appear on all phases of life on the farm. It is a very interesting and important volume which ought to find many readers. (Published by The University of Chicago Press. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$3.) H. C. E.

Our Village Dwellers

MR. MENCKEN can call them yokels, and the urbanite in his pride can boast of his superior civilization. Yet the villagers of the United States, the people living in centers of from 250 to 2,500 population, are not on the decrease, as commonly supposed, but are steadily increasing in number. The condition of their life, their social outlook, and their work for the whole people of the country are set forth in a rather technical but exceedingly valuable study of *American Villagers*, by C. Luther Fry. (Published by the George H. Doran Company. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$2.50 postpaid.) D. A.

The Green Rising

UNDER this title the President of the University of Oklahoma, W. B. Bizzell, has surveyed the farm situation in the United States. An introductory chapter reviews the agrarian revolutions of the past, another discusses agrarian tendencies in present-day Europe, and a third deals with Mexican agrarianism. But the bulk of the excellent little volume tells of the farms and farmers of the United States. (Published by the Macmillan Co. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$2) H. C. E.

The Little Town

THIS little volume by Harlan Paul Douglass was first published in 1919. It is now reissued and brought to date. The author believes that the little town should assume rural leadership, instead of trying pitifully to ape the big town and the city. In the days before the development of our present means of communication the village invariably was the center of farm interests. Should it return to that function today, its influence upon agriculture and farm life under the new conditions would be enormous. Here's something for the little town to think over. (Published by the Macmillan Co. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop. \$2.00)

H. C. E.

New Towns for Old

THE small town in America is very often inexcusably ugly. What it might be, may be seen from many small towns in England. John Nolen, eminent landscape architect and town planner, believes that by taking a little thought we can eliminate much of this hideous drabness. We can even recapture or create great beauty in the little town. What a change that would make in the countryside and in the life of its people! This little book, richly illustrated with present achievements, makes one bold to hope that Mr. Nolen is right. (Published by Marshall Jones Co. Through the World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$3.)

H. C. E.

Rural Life Through "the Seeing Eye"

FROM his country retreat in the Berkshires, whence come the occasional delightful books that bear his name, Walter Pridmore and Eaton has written of his love for the countryside, its outdoor beauty and peace, its people, the intangible things that together contribute, as Mr. Eaton puts it, to "a scheme of life which seeks balance, dignity, sweetness and repose." Mr. Eaton is not insensitive to the problems of the agriculturist; but he would have the farmer try to look at his environment with that "seeing eye" which alone can comprehend beauty anywhere. *A Bucolic Attitude* is a slim but dynamic little book, written out of personal experience as a direct answer to another book that upheld the attractions of urban life. (Published by Duffield & Co. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$1 postpaid.) D. A.

Reading List: Agriculture and Rural Life

- Farm Income and Farm Life*, edited by Dwight L. Sanders. University of Chicago Press, 1927.
- Handbook of Rural Social Resources*, edited by Henry Israel and Benson Y. Landis. University of Chicago Press, 1926.
- The Agricultural Situation*, by G. F. Warren and F. A. Pearson. John Wiley and Sons, 1924.
- The Agricultural Situation in the United States*, edited by Clyde L. King. January, 1925, Vol. XII, No. 206, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.
- The Real Trouble with the Farmers*, by Herbert Quick. Bobbs Merrill & Co., 1924.
- The Farmer's Standard of Living*, by E. L. Kirkpatrick. The Century Company (Forthcoming).
- The Farmer's Standard of Living*, by E. L. Kirkpatrick. Government Printing Office, 1926. (Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 1466).
- Food Costs and Urban Consumers*, by Charles E. Artman. Columbia University Press, 1926.
- Farmers and Workers in American Politics*, by Stuart A. Rice. Longmans Green & Co., 1924.
- The Farmers' Campaign for Credit*, by Clara Eliot. D. Appleton & Co., 1927.
- Social Aspects of Farmers' Cooperative Marketing*, by Benson Y. Landis. University of Chicago Press, 1925.
- Development and Present Status of Farmers' Cooperative Business Organization*, by R. H. Elsworth. Government Printing Office, 1924. (Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 1302.)
- Rural Life at the Crossroads*, by Macy Campbell. Ginn & Co., 1927.
- Rural Social Problems*, by C. J. Galpin. The Century Co., 1924.
- The Suburban Trend*, by H. Paul Douglass. The Century Company, 1925.
- Light from the North*, by Joseph K. Hart. Henry Holt & Co., 1927.
- Farm Life Abroad*, by E. C. Branson. University of Chicago Press, 1924.
- Farmers of Forty Centuries*, by F. H. King. Harcourt Brace & Co., 1926. (Reprint of 1911.)

A Vision of a Vital Church

MEASURED either by the yardstick of vital religion or of civilized ethics, most churches, in this reviewer's reluctant opinion, are pretty small potatoes. This much of bias, if you want all it that, must be freely confessed. But in *The Adventure of the Church*, Samuel McCrea Cavert, one of the General Secretaries of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, gives a picture of "something else again." He holds up to the churches a fine, sensitive ideal of a world of fellowship, achieved solely by the contribution of religion operating in the genius of missionary enterprise. Mr. Cavert has not gone out of his way to affront any of the church's standpatters; but whether they realize it or not, his challenge dares them to do nothing less than revolutionize much of what passes today as religion. In short, become in aim and practice simply Christlike. It is a brave task. Imagine any book at all on this subject quoting from Eugene Debs, and using Carl Sandburg's blast against Billy Sunday! What are we coming to? Well, if Mr. Cavert could have his way, it would be something worth the price of admission. How many churches and church people are willing to pay the price? Published by the Missionary Education Movement. Through the World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$1.60). D. A.

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Plans for health weeks and health campaigns. Good ideas for interesting young people in health—pantomimes, skits and songs.

THE SONG BOOK OF THE Y. W. C. A. \$1.50

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British War Documents

WHEN the revolutionary governments of Germany, Austria and Russia began to make known the secrets of their counsels archives, they thereby issued a direct challenge to the other combatants, especially England and France. France has to this dodged the challenge. England has accepted it. Professors Leach and Temperley, whose previous work shows wide acquaintance with the field and admirable temper for the undertaking, were appointed to edit eleven volumes of documents beginning in the year 1898 and continuing to the outbreak of the war. The first volume to appear is Vol. XI, the work of Headlam-Templey, covering the period from June 28 to August 4, 1914. This volume of *British Documents on the Origins of the War* is especially valuable for the light it sheds on the Russian and German situations. Like the other nations, the British edited their share of the "Rainbow Books" published in 1914. Following the method with the Russian "Orange Book" of printing the omitted section in a different color, would have helped the scholar to evaluate more readily the text of 1914. (Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office. Through the World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$3.) H. C. E.

International Economic Conference

THE League of Nations published for the International Economic Conference an exceedingly valuable series of twenty-four pamphlets and books on international trade, iron and steel, cotton, chemicals, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, cooperative organization, dumping, cartels and combines, currency and banking, trade barriers, migration, etc. A complete list of these publications, which sell for amounts ranging from 15 cents to \$4, may be secured from The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, 6 East 39th Street, New York City. K. P.

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BETTER BOOKS for ALL-ROUND READING

Any of the following books, all of which have been carefully selected after a reading by at least one member of the staff, may be ordered from The World Tomorrow Bookshop at the regular retail price. We pay the postage.

The Problems of Peace. New York: Oxford University Press, 1927. 7½ x 5¼. 365 pages. \$4.25. Lectures delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, August, 1926, by **Alfred Zimmermann**, **Harold Laski**, **Arnold Wolfers**, **Michael Farnham**, **James Brown Scott**, **Chester H. Rowell** and various officials of the League. An important volume.

Psychology. A Simplification, by **Loyd Ring Coleman** and **Samuel Commings.** New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 6 x 8½. 380 pages. \$3. An excellent guide through the various schools of psychology,—the Introspectionists, the Psychoanalysts, the Behaviorists, the Gestalt group, etc.—pointing out what the authors consider permanent achievement in each field.

The World in the Making, by **Count Hermann Keyserling.** New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 6 x 8½. 293 pages. \$2.50. The autobiography and Weltanschauung of the founder of the School of Wisdom.

The Absolute at Large, by **Karel Capek.** New York: Macmillan, 1927. 5½ x 7¾. 242 pages. \$2.50. A great inventor breaks up the atom and releases the Absolute, God, on the world. This novel tells what follows. A magnificent beginning fails to live up to its promise.

Jean Paul Marat. A Study in Radicalism by **Louis R. Gottschalk.** New York: Greenberg, 1927. 6¼ x 9¼. 221 pages. \$3. An "old fashioned character study" of one of the "satanic trinity" of the French Revolution.

The Beadle, by **Pauline Smith.** New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927. 5 x 7½. 314 pages. \$2.50. A beautifully written novel of a small religious group of people in South Africa. A sympathetic portrayal of the simple character and the tremendous drama possible in isolated communities.

Our Wonderful World, by **Emery Lewis Howe.** New York: Abingdon Press, 1927. 8 x 5½. 313 pages. \$1.40. Interesting stories for children about plants, birds, and animals.

The Financier, by **Theodore Dreiser.** New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 7½ x 5¼. 503 pages. \$3. First published in 1912, now rewritten. One of the best novels from Dreiser's pen, and therefore one of the best American novels.

Covering Washington, by **J. F. Essary.** Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. 5¼ x 8½. 280 pages. \$3. You may see Washington from a rubberneck wagon every day for a decade and know nothing about it. But you'll learn a lot—though not all, or the worst—about the frontdoor and backdoor life of politics there from Mr. Essary, who, incidentally, is one of the reasons for the Baltimore Sun's excellent Washington material.

CORRESPONDENCE

"Unclean!"

HEREWITH return various matter sent me by you, that may not commit sin in the sight of God, in having anything to do with that which is so contrary to the truth: which is contained only in The Bible (God's Word).

I confess that in my ignorance of this I have been a reader of your magazine. I should have begun to return your magazine sooner, instead of destroying it, which I did, since I thought that your work was based upon philosophy (man's reasoning).

New Orleans, La.

MARCEL KRAUSS

Sacco-Vanzetti Anthology

UNLESS Sacco and Vanzetti are set free, an anthology of poems of protest will be issued under the auspices of "Contemporary Verse." This anthology is now being compiled, and immediate cooperation is earnestly solicited.

We want to see any poems on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, published or unpublished. We reserve, of course, the right of selection.

There will be no charge whatever for inclusion in this anthology, but contributors are strongly urged to help us defray expenses.

Unless the men are freed, this book should be published next month. Immediate action is imperative. Help us make this best heard.

St. Vernon, N. Y. RALPH CHEYNEY AND LUCIA TRENT

A Square Deal for Negroes!

THE statement in the editorial in your paper that millions of the negroes in the South are in virtual peonage is possibly untrue, and whoever wrote this editorial wrote it without knowledge of the facts. The negro in the South gets much better treatment than the foreign workman has in the North. I have had occasion to personally see conditions in at least half of the Southern States, and I think that the fact that there is less labor trouble in the South than in any other part of the United States proves my statement.

The inference in Logan's article that negroes are lynched in the South for minor offenses is also without foundation, out of perhaps a very few isolated cases.

As far as Tennessee and Nashville are concerned, the opportunities for the negro to advance are equal to those of any white man, as is shown by the large number of negroes that took medical examinations for licenses to practice medicine in Tennessee just a few days ago.

From my observations and experience, I think the negro gets at least as square a deal in the South as he does anywhere else, even if he isn't invited to sit in the theatre or at the dinner table with the white members of the community. He has dinette places and theatres or special reservations in the white theatres where he can get equal accommodations, and if your magazine expects to continue to preach the amalgamation of the white and colored races as an ideal to be attained, you at least should give the South a square deal.

Nashville, Tenn.

LITTELL RUST

"Poisonous Propaganda!"

IT IS difficult to visualize a more debased and sordid libel of this nation than has been perpetrated by Mr. Pepper in the May issue of The World Tomorrow, using your publication and your good name as a badge of respectability. Your periodical professes to advocate the Christ way of living in international relations, but it has degenerated to the level of the lowest red radical publication. If my teaching and experience had shown me no higher ideal of the Christ than is depicted in the strife-breeding, riot-feeding appeal to prejudice and ignorance made by Pepper and his ilk in your publication, I easily could denounce Christianity as the Russian infidels are doing.

I assume Mr. Pepper is foreign born. This is the most charitable attitude I can take with reference to his opinions. If, however, he is an American, he was probably educated in schools where all American patriotism and propaganda is barred. At any rate, his knowledge of our history, of our world service, etc., is sadly limited, or he considers it "pagan patriotism" to be fair with America in his discussions.

After the low-down evaluation Mr. Pepper has given us with reference to our world service and relationships; after, by innuendo, slapping this country in the face for maintaining peace in Nicaragua, for maintaining the national entity of Haiti, for attempting to bar the notorious Countess Cathcart, and after criticizing our courts for enforcing the law against murder, etc., he has the impudence to insinuate that we "failed to join the League of Nations and to cooperate with Europe." Can you beat it?

If America be the flat-headed sewer rat pictured by Pepper, or the vulture, as you have caricatured the American eagle on the front cover of this issue, why should Europe want us in the League; or why should the dear, down-trodden, altruistic peoples of the world desire to be contaminated by these vulgar, imperialistic Americans?

First to last, The World Tomorrow, for May, contains no word of appreciation for any act of this country. All discussion of the Caribbean omits reference to the fact that we have transformed those states from Spanish prisons and cesspools of fever and revolution to free communities of health and peace. These facts are of no importance, however, to your clan, who evidently plot the destruction of this republic and have the impudence to spread your poisonous propaganda in the name of Jesus Christ.

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The Last Page

MISTAKENLY, as I now see, I had thought that happiness would be mine when war was abolished forever, when people of other races would be treated as well as my own, and when economic justice should have been established in the far ends of the earth. At least, that would be a modest beginning and assure me something approaching satisfaction. But that was all wrong. There's an easier way to happiness, and judging by some "literature" I have been receiving, the great bulk of our population knows it.

Happiness depends, I've learned, on three ingredients: wealth, a Powerful Personality, and a man. Or it may be a woman. The Powerful Personality is not hard to acquire, but a little expensive. The woman or the man may be obtained at little or no expense and scarcely any effort, and often with the wealth thrown in.

Remembering my experience with the health cures—I think they might reasonably be called that—which I related on this Page last month, I must hasten to state that in such matters as mind and mate I have not been dissatisfied. I haven't ever set the academic world afire, but I have not lost my intellectual curiosity, which after all is the thing of most personal value. And, although at times my wife seems lacking in reverence, occasionally questioning my judgment, and is often so annoying as to be right, nevertheless I certainly don't want another. Now, in some things, that would be no recommendation, so to speak; but in matrimony, as in motor cars, it is good policy to "ask the man who owns one."

* * *

I DIDN'T really want to know "How to Win—and Hold—a Man's Love." But, as self-defense, the knowledge might yet come in handy. It really seemed that in duty to my wife I ought to know, so as to be forever on my guard.

I haven't had time to learn it all yet, and I haven't felt able to take the full and costly course. But I have learned the mysterious five stages. "The first stage is *attention*. The second stage is *arousing interest*. The third stage is *changing interest into desire*. The fourth stage is *sustaining judgment*. And lastly, the fifth stage, *turning judgment into action (the proposal)*. As one of the many thousands of girl readers of this course wrote, 'It's just like a pleasant game to be played.'" Thousands? Literally! Over 300,000 women have studied this technique and been turned loose upon unsuspecting men. Yet people still talk about the domination of the male!

It is a pity that more girls don't learn the value of these wonderful lessons. Or is the course a failure in some cases? At any rate, the matrimonial agencies thrive, and many a lonely heart beats on the doors of the correspondence-club offices. And the latter do so well, because they know every man in the country, it would seem, in person.

Perhaps you have heard of the fellow who came upon a sign across a factory gate, which read: "Keep Out. This Means You," and who inquired, wonderingly, "Now, how did they know I was coming?" I felt the same way when I received a letter which began: "I'm sure glad you are going to join my club. I can't help feeling that way, because I have so many lovely, charming ladies who wish nice gentlemen correspondents, and many of them would be interested in you. I want to bring the lonely ones together," it went on. "Don't you think we'll all be happy then?" Frankly, a little while ago I should have ventured mildly to doubt it.

Intimate? Personal? What could be more so? "Now, dear, your great desire may be for improved finances, or it may be love—the letter and book which are now \$1.12 tell you in simple clear manner, just how to use your Invisible Power to obtain both results. [This is positively clairvoyant; for if Invisible Power isn't Invisible, it is certainly a bit retiring.] Nothing happens by chance—you have attracted this message to yourself. You, too, can be a big success if you will follow the teachings which have been laid down for you. So do start right now to change the current and attract what you want. The book gives you the smell of victory, the refusal of defeat." Ah, yes; but I fear imagination by any other name would smell as sweet.

* * *

SAYS another soul physician: "You often find rare treasures in unexpected places." What could be more true? Here is one: "Adorable little College Student, sensible and sedate [did you know that this kind of treasure existed in such an unexpected place?] yet full of pep and has a pleasing personality and a big warm heart full of love. Age eighteen, 5 ft. 4 in., 130 pounds. Protestant, plays piano and mandolin. Stunning brunette type, beautiful form, and tasty dresser. Boys, she's a dream. I'm anxious to hear from a nice young man who wants a real pal. Sorry not to oblige; that heart full of love seems a trifle, eh? generic; and I'm a bit worried, too, about the mandolin."

I almost fell for the one who straightforwardly introduced herself with "Hello, boys. Here I am. Young lady, age 16, Ht. 5 ft. 5 in., Wt. 120. Dark brown hair with blue grey eyes. Have good form and pretty enough to pass. Neat and tidy in housework and my own appearance. Like to travel and dance. Can play piano, ukulele and banjo." That let's me out! But I never could have suited, anyway, for just listen to this: "Prefer to hear from Ranchers, Aviators, or Army Officers with means."

Was I too hard, a moment ago, on our colleges? I wonder. "I have ladies of wealth, culture, and refinement. If you wish a college graduate for a correspondent, I have any number of them."

* * *

Maybe it isn't so easy after all. Perhaps, however, it is because I wasn't quite sincere. "You have written a letter in answer to the little advertisement because you desire a wife, an ideal wife of wealth, goodness, and good looks." Strangely enough, after reading over several hundred prospects, I find the good looks somewhat hard to visualize, the wealth, though very common (especially among the "widows by death" and the "widows by law"), not without encumbrances; and the goodness so universal as to be uninteresting, even for one so staid as I—at least, when advertised in the abstract.

However, my depression is a little mitigated by the fact that I have ordered a new kind of rod which you can hold in your hand and which will give you an electric shock when it is held over buried treasure. If I can't appreciate the treasures available through the matrimonial bureaus, perhaps I shall do better with Mother Earth. If I do, I shall doubtless be convinced that the way to happiness lies in easily obtained fortunes, cheaply gained Personalities, or Love at \$2.00 per registration. All this talk about working to make the world a better place for our descendants to live in as a means to happiness is just so much applesauce. At any rate, such is the firm belief of our most loving-hearted fellow-citizens.

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CONTENTS for AUGUST, 1927

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<i>Verse</i>	
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<i>Waiting for Safety and Sunrise and Dry Lands</i>	
King Solomon or the Iceman	THEODORA DU BOIS
<i>A story</i>	
Carcassone	BEATRICE ALLEN DRAPER
<i>Verse</i>	
Ripened Years	J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON
<i>IX—Thomas Jefferson—Time Treated Him Kindly</i>	
Those Quarrelsome Bonapartes	ROBERT GORDON ANDERSON
<i>IX—In the Residence of Kings</i>	
Pause	EDWARD DAVISON
<i>Verse</i>	
Changing the Past	JOHN ERSKINE
<i>Shall We Allow Taste to Overrule Right and Wrong</i>	
The Reading Room	JOSEPH ANTHONY
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